

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-02 ISO-00 /005 R

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DRAFTED BY S/NM:HRWELLMAN:AG

APPROVED BY S/NM:HRWELLMAN

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R 181925Z MAR 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 053555

FOLLOWING ANKARA 1969 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ADANA ISTANBUL  
IZMIR GENEVA MAR 16TH.

QUOTE:

ANKARA 1969

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAG: SNAR, TU

SUBJECT: MEETING OF CONGRESSMEN WOLFF AND RANGEL WITH  
FONMIN GUNES

SUMMARY: THE ESSENCE OF THE MARCH 15 MEETING WITH FONMIN  
GUNES AND CONGRESSMEN WOLFF AND RANGEL IS SUMMARIZED  
IN COMMENT AT CONCLUSION THIS MESSAGE. END SUMMARY

1. MORNING MARCH 15, I ACCOMPANIED CONGRESSMEN LESTER  
WOLFF AND CHARLES RANGEL TO MEETING WITH FONMIN GUNES.  
AFTER TELEVISION AND PRESS CAMERAMEN HAD LEFT ROOM, FONMIN  
WELCOMED CONGRESSMEN, SAYING THAT WHILE I WAS OFFICIAL REPRESENT-  
ATIVE AND SPOKESMAN FOR USG ON THIS MATTER, HE THOUGHT IT HELPFUL  
TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE AS WIDE DIALOGUE ON THIS SUBJECT  
AS POSSIBLE. BOTH CONGRESSMEN EXPRESSED THEIR REGRET OVER  
INACCURATE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING PURPOSE OF THEIR TRIP  
AND NOTED THEIR APPRECIATION FOR OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH FONMIN,  
ESPECIALLY ON SUCH SHORT NOTICE. THEY STRESSED THEY CAME  
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AS FRIENDS TO LEARN MORE OF TURKISH POINT OF VIEW ABOUT A

PROBLEM OF GREAT CONCERN TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

2. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF LED OFF BY ASKING ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED BY AMBASSADOR HANDLEY AND THE ERIM GOVT. HE WONDERED WETHER ANYTHING HAD BEEN REMISS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE LED TO THE RESCINDING OF THE AGREEMENT. HE NOTED RESCINDING WOULD INEVITABLY UNDERMINE THE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, RELATIONS TO WHICH HE ATTACHED THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE.

3. GUNES DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY TO THIS QUESTION, ALTHOUGH MUCH LATER IN THE CONVERSATION HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS NOT AN EXPERT ON THE IMPLEMENTATING STEPS THAT HAD ACTUALLY BEEN TAKEN IN THE POPPY AREAS. THEREFORE THE ONLY COMMENT HE COULD MAKE ON THIS SUBJECT WAS TO QUOTE A PASSAGE IN THE 1973 INCB REPORT WHICH STATED THAT THE PROBLEM OF BRINGING NEW CROPS, NEW REVENUES, NEW WAYS OF LIFE TO THE FORMER TURKISH POPPY GROWING AREAS WAS AN ENORMOUS ONE.

4. GUNES SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE AT THE OUTSET TO STATE HIS POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT. FIRST OF ALL, HE WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE HARMFUL EFFECTS OF THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM "CERTAINLY IN THE US, BUT IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL." TURKEY WAS QUITE PREPARED TO MINIMIZE "THIS GREAT CATASTROPHE IN THE WORLD." HE ADDED HOWEVER, "WHEN WE REVIEW THIS MATTER WITH THE US, IT IS NOT BECAUSE OF A LEGALLY BINDING AGREEMENT BETWEEN US, BUT BECAUSE FIRST OF ALL HEROIN IS A CATASTROPHE FOR HUMANITY AND SECOND BECAUSE WE ASSOCIATE SUCH IMPORTANCE TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.".

5. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT, IN HIS VIEWS, THERE ARE TWO FACETS TO THE PROBLEM -- POLITICAL ON THE ONE HAND, AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ON THE OTHER. THE QUESTIONS WHICH MUST BE ANSWERED WERE WHETHER BANNING WAS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO ILLICIT TRAFFIC OR WHETHER CULTIVATION CAN BE CARRIED OUT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PREVENT ILLICIT TRAFFIC. ALSO, THE QUESTION HAD TO BE ANSWERED AS TO WHETHER BANNING HAD AN ADVERSE ECONOMIC EFFECT ON THE FARMERS IN THE AREA. MOREOVER, ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, GUNES STRESSED THAT BOTH TURKEY AND THE US HAVE GOVERNMENTS CHOSEN BY THE

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PEOPLE AND THAT PUBLIC OPINION THEREFORE CARRIES GREAT WEIGHT IN GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. HE NOTED THAT THE PROBLEM OF OPIUM PRODUCTION IN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD BEEN EVALUATED BY PUBLIC OPINION IN QUITE DIFFERENT WAYS BECAUSE IT WAS BEING OBSERVED FROM QUITE DIFFERENT VANTAGE POINTS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IN THE PAST THE MASS MEDIA OF THE U.S. HAD ALLEGED THAT TURKISH PRODUCTION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR AS HIGH AS 80 PERCENT OF THE HEROIN WHICH WAS ENTERING THE U.S. HE PERSONALLY DID NOT

BELIEVE THAT FIGURE, BUT NEVERTHELESS IT WAS OBVIOUSLY CLEAR THAT TURKEY HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR PART OF THE HEROIN WHICH ENTERED THE U.S. HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THIS PART, HOWEVER, WAS A RELATIVELY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL U.S. IMPORTS. NEVERTHELESS, HE CONCEDED, WHATEVER THE PERCENTAGE INVOLVED, TURKISH SURVEILLANCE HAD NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT IN THE PAST. THE RESULT OF ALL THESE FACTORS HAD BEEN THE BANNING OF POPPY CULTIVATION IN TURKEY. THIS HAD BEEN DONE BY A GOVERNMENT NOT IN OFFICE THROUGH NORMAL DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND THEREFORE BY A GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS NOT AS RESPONSIVE TO THE VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE AS A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT WOULD BE. FURTHERMORE, THE IMPRESSION AT THE TIME WAS THAT THE DECISION HAD BEEN BULLDOZED THROUGH BY U.S. PRESSURE. THE ERIM GOVERNMENT HAD NOT EXPLAINED THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM TO THE WORLD OR TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE NEXT STRESSED THAT IN LAST FALL'S ELECTION, EVERY PARTY IN TURKEY CAME OUT FOR RESCINDING THE BAN (HE NEGLECTED TO MENTION THAT THE JUSTICE PARTY HAD FAIRLY WELL RESERVED ITS POSITION ON THIS POINT).

6. CONGRESSMAN RANGEL INTERJECTED TO ASK WHETHER THE MAIN MOTIVATION OF THESE PARTY POSITIONS HAD BEEN TO DEMONSTRATE INDEPENDENCE OF THE U.S. GUNES RESPONDED IN THE NEGATIVE. HE SAID AT THE TIME THE BAN HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IT HAD NOT BEEN THE POLITICAL PARTIES, BUT RATHER THE "LEFTIST PRESS", WHICH HAD MADE A MAJOR ISSUE OVER U.S. PRESSURE. HE ADDED THAT HIS OWN PARTY HAD NOT BEEN AS OUTSPOKEN ON THIS SUBJECT AS THE OTHER PARTIES PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE HEAVY STRESS IT PLACED ON THE FACT THAT HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS MUST ALSO BE GIVEN GREAT WEIGHT AS THE POPPY BAN DECISION WAS BEING REVIEWED. GUNES THEN DEVELOPED ONCE AGAIN THE THEME WITH WHICH THE DEPARTMENT HAS NOW BECOME FAMILIAR. HE SAID THAT THE ERIM GOVERNMENT, NOT BEING RESPONSIVE TO THE NORMAL DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES, HAD MADE THE DECISION TO

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BAN POPPIES LOOK MUCH EASIER THAN IT IN FACT WAS. HE SAID THAT THIS IN TURN HAD MISLED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE INTO THINKING THAT WITH A FEW ECONOMIC PROJECTS IN THE FORMER POPPY AREAS, THE PROBLEM WOULD DISAPPEAR.

7. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF COMMENTED THAT THE 80 PERCENT ISSUE TO WHICH GUNES ALLUDED WAS IRRELEVANT -- THE BASIC FACTS BEING THAT AS A RESULT OF THE BAN THERE WAS NOW A MARKED SHORTAGE IN THE AVAILABILITY OF HEROIN IN THE US, AND THAT THE PRICE HAD MARKEDLY INCREASED. HAVING TURNED THE CORNER IN THIS VITALLY IMPORTANT FIGHT, THE US NOW SAW A TREMENDOUS OBSTACLE BEING PLACED BEFORE IT, IF TURKEY SHOULD RESCIND THE BAN. WOLFF SAID HE WOULD NOT DWELL ON THE MORAL ASPECTS OF THE HEROIN PROBLEM AS THESE WERE WELL-KNOWN TO THE MINISTER. INSTEAD, HE WISHED TO STRESS THAT

70-90 PERCENT OF THE CRIME IN THE US WAS DRUG-RELATED. IN A  
VERY REAL SENSE OF THE WORD, THE US WAS ENGAGED IN A WAR; WE HAVE  
URBAN GUERRILLAS WHO ARE DRUG ADDICTS. HE STRESSED  
THEREFORE THAT HEROIN WAS NOT ONLY A PROBLEM THAT COULD PENETRATE  
EACH FAMILY, BUT IT WAS ALSO IN A VERY REAL WAY AS IF WE WERE  
BEING ATTACKED BY A FOREIGN ARMY. HE SAID HE HAD COME HERE  
NOT TO THREATEN, BUT TO ASK FOR HELP. HE SAID THIS NARCOTICS  
PROBLEM WAS DESTROYING THE VERY  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** DRUG TRAFFIC, DRUGS, DRUG CONTROL, HEROIN, MEETINGS, AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 18 MAR 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974STATE053555  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** HRWELLMAN:AG  
**Enclosure:** DG ALTERED  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740335/aaaabgng.tel  
**Line Count:** 172  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ORIGIN SNM  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 19 JUN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19 JUN 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <31 JAN 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MEETING OF CONGRESSMEN WOLFF AND RANGEL WITH FONMIN GUNES  
**TAGS:** SNAR, TU, US, (WOLFF, LESTER), (RANGEL, CHARLES)  
**To:** KINSHASA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005